

Message Text

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44

ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 EUR-08 INR-05

CIAE-00 SP-02 L-01 H-01 /041 W
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R 230910Z APR 75

FM AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3437

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LOURENCO MARQUES 421

LIMDIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY DAVIS

LONDON FOR HAVERKAMP

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PROR, US, MZ

SUBJECT: USG RELATIONS WITH MOZAMBIQUE BEFORE, DURING
AND AFTER INDEPENDENCE

REF: (A) DAR ES SALAAM 842, (B) WALKER TO O'NEILL LETTER 4/17
(C) STATE 76720, (D) LOURENCO MARQUES 390

1. SUMMARY: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS (AND NON-DEVELOPMENTS) LEAD ME TO CONCLUDE THAT (A) WE ARE LOSING EFFECTIVE CONTACT WITH TOP FRELIMO OFFICIALS, (B) OUR MISSION HERE WILL BE IN LIMBO AS OF JUNE 25 UNLESS WE RE-ESTABLISH DIALOGUE PRIOR TO INDEPENDENCE; AND (C) RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY FRELIMO BELIEVES IT IS UP TO US TO TAKE THE FIRST STEP IN ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH INDEPENDENT MOZAMBIQUE. FYI: BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN HAS SENT A MESSAGE TO FRELIMO PRESIDENT MACHEL, WHICH ENABLED BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER IN DAR ES SALAAM TO HAVE USEFUL DISCUSSION WITH MACHEL INCLUDING QUESTION OF FUTURE U.K. RELATIONS. SINCE WE SEEM TO BE STYMIED BOTH
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HERE AND IN DAR ES SALAAM I RECOMMEND WE CONSIDER A SIMILAR

MESSAGE TO MACHEL FOR AMBASSADOR CARTER TO DELIVER PERSONALLY.
ON OTHER HAND, IF YOU ARE PLANNING TO VISIT DAR PRIOR TO
JUNE 25, RECOMMEND YOU MEET WITH MACHEL.

2. DURING VISIT OF SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS STAFF DEL BARTON
(REF C), WE CALLED ON HIGH COMMISSIONER CRESPO. HE STATED
CLEARLY THAT FRELIMO WOULD NOT ACCEPT CONVERSION OF CONSULATES
GENERAL HERE TO EMBASSIES WITHOUT PRIOR DISCUSSIONS ON DIP-
LOMATIC RELATIONS. IF WE WERE INTERESTED IN LATTER, CRESPO
SUGGESTED WE INFORMALLY APPROACH FRELIMO IN DAR PRIOR TO
INDEPENDENCE. ALL CONSULS GENERAL (W.E.'S, BRAZIL, SAG)
WERE TOLD SAME THING IN MEETING WITH NEW PORTUGUESE DIPLOMATIC
ADVISOR ON APRIL 15.

3. DESPITE MY LETTER TO PRIME MINISTER CHISSANO (REF D) AND
SHARFUDIN KHAN'S ASSURANCE TO EMBASSY DAR THAT HE WOULD
NOTIFY FRELIMO HERE RE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS STAFFDEL
BARTON VISIT, I GOT COMPLETE SHUT-OUT FROM CHISSANO'S OFFICE,
ESPECIALLY MANUEL DOS SANTOS WHO IS MEMBER OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE
AND THROUGH WHOM ALL APPOINTMENTS MUST RPT MUST BE HANDLED.

4. EXCEPT FOR MARCELINO DOS SANTOS' INCONCLUSIVE AND EVASIVE
RESPONSES TO AMBASSADOR CARTER IN THEIR MARCH MEETING, AND
MY BRIEF EXCHANGE WITH CHISSANO WHEN TAKING CONGRESSMAN DIGGS
TO CALL ON HIM IN FEBRUARY, USG HAS HAD NO SUBSTANTIVE DIS-
CUSSIONS WITH TOP FUTURE LEADERS OF MOZAMBIQUE SINCE EASUM
VISIT IN NOVEMBER 1974. (SHARFUDIN KHAN IS CONSIDERED BY
FRELIMO LEADERS HERE AS A LIGHTWEIGHT IN FRELIMO HIERARCHY,
PRIME MINISTER'S CHIEF OF CABINET HERE TOLD ONE SOURCE HE
DOUBTED KHAN WAS EVEN ON CENTRAL COMMITTEE.)

5. OTHER FACTORS WHICH LEAD ME TO BELIEVE OUR RELATIONS WITH
MOZAMBIQUE LEADERS ARE ON DEAD CENTER ARE: (A) IT WAS OVER
ONE MONTH AGO THAT MARCELINO DOS SANTOS PROMISED AMBASSADOR
CARTER TO GET ANSWER ON OUR ECONOMIC AID SURVEY TEAM (REF A)
AND NO REPLY HAS BEEN FORTHCOMING; (B) REQUEST FOR PERMISSION
UNDER NEW LAW TO LEASE EMBASSY CHANCERY WAS SENT TO PRIMIN'S
OFFICE MONTH AGO AND LACK OF DECISION BY TRANSITIONAL GOVERN-
MENT MAY REFLECT FRELIMO'S RELUCTANCE TAKE DECISION UNTIL
LARGER QUESTION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS SETTLED; (C) WE HAVE
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RECEIVED NO INDICATION USG IS TO BE INVITED TO INDEPENDENCE
CELEBRATIONS.

6. I DO NOT BELIEVE USG SHOULD BE IN POSITION OF SOLICITING
FAVORS FROM FRELIMO LEADERS. IF, HOWEVER, WE DECIDE TO
ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH INDEPENDENT HOZAMBIQUE,
I THINK IT WISE TO TELL THEM SO BEFORE INDEPENDENCE. FAILURE
DO SO CAN ONLY MAKE DEALINGS WITH NEW GOVERNMENT AFTER JUNE 25

HIGHLY DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE, FOR LEGALLY NON-EXISTENT
US MISSION. IT COULD ALSO LEAD TO PROLONGED DELAYS IN AGREEMENT
FOR NEW AMBASSADOR.

BEGIN XGDS-1

7. ACCORDING TO BRITISH CONSUL GENERAL WHO GAVE ME FOLLOWING
INFORMATION IN CONFIDENCE, BRITISH IN PAST MONTH HAVE MADE
CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS IN ESTABLISHING FRUITFUL CONTACTS AND
GOOD ATMOSPHERE WITH TOP FRELIMO LEADERS IN DAR. FOLLOWING
INITIAL DELIVERY BY BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER BROWN OF
PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM MINISTER OF OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT HART
TO MARCELINO DOS SANTOS ON MARCH 3, FOREIGN SECRETARY
CALLAGHAN SENT PERSONAL MESSAGE TO SAMORA MACHEL WHICH WAS
DELIVERED BY BROWN ON MARCH 27. MACHEL STATED HE WAS ANXIOUS
TO ESTABLISH FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH U.K. ON BASIS OF
"FRANKNESS AND EQUALITY" PROVIDED THAT BRITISH PLAY CONSTRUC-
TIVE ROLE ON RHODESIA (SEE SEPTTEL). HE PROPOSED FURTHER TALKS
AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL ON "ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL RELATIONS".
END XGDS-1

8. IN VIEW ABOVE AND IN WAKE OF OBVIOUSLY FRUITFUL KAUNDA
TALKS WITH PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY, I RECOMMEND DEPARTMENT
SERIOUSLY CONSIDER MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY TO MACHEL
SIMILAR TO CALLAGHAN'S, TO BE DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR CAGTER,
EXPRESSING DESIRE FOR GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEW INDEPENDENT
STATE OF MOZAMBIQUE. IF ON THE OTHER HAND YOU ARE PLANNING TO
VISIT DAR ES SALAAM PRIOR TO JUNE 25 YOU MAY WISH TO MEET
WITH MACHEL, ARMED WITH MESSAGE FROM SECRETARY.

9. WELCOME COMMENTS INTO ADDRESSEES.
WALKER

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